584 a man she is told to carry dinner to her intended husband and she eats with him, a thing which is only permitted to wives. [433]

595 They name the wives of the Caribs according to the order in which they were married. It is a general rule that some of the Caribs have many wives. Nevertheless, there are many women without husbands because the greater part of the husbands have only one wife. There are some who have two wives in one or two carbets. It happens quite often when they are in another island that they do not bring their women with them. They obtain new ones only for the time that they expect to live there. I have never seen two women eating or sleeping with one man at the same time. They do not travel together with him in the same canoe. Each has her turn from month to month, even when pregnant. After giving birth, a wife has no relations with her husband for a long period, fearing that this will harm the child if she did so. The above is what ordinarily happens concerning marriage. There are some abnormalities in particular instances. I have seen [235] two men who took their very own daughters as wives, but all the others hated them because of this. The son of one of these men joined the Capuchin Order, because he was so ashamed of the infamy of his father, and he died a Christian death at the convent of these fathers located at the new street of St. Honoré in Paris. I have seen another 583 who had as wives both a mother and her daughter, and some who had carried off the wives of others because they maintained these women belonged to them by right. They have an expression for this situation which means they ravish women belonging to another. Those who carry the women off call them nábognoni. The old men sometimes take girls who are fourteen or fifteen years old, in addition to all of the slave women which the young men capture. Slave women are given by the young men to their fathers or grandfathers. The children of these marriages are respected and treated as legitimate. Finally certain ones stand under suspicion of tendencies against nature, but this evil is recognized and pointed out. [277]

595 The women are able to have one husband only, and several wives call their husband by the same name. Carib men are able to have several wives and use several names to distinguish them. They build their wives separate houses in order to live with them more quietly. Women are rarely found all together with their husband, and they never share his hammock. Each wife has a moon during which time she serves him and follows him everywhere. When the moon expires she yields her

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

THE CARIB

By Irving Rouse

INTRODUCTION

174 The *Carib*, like the *Arawak*, were South American in origin. According to their traditions, they came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus; by his time they had succeeded in conquering all the Lesser Antilles and probably also the northeastern part of Trinidad, exterminating the *Arawak* men who formerly lived there and taking their wives as slaves. They were conducting raids upon the *Arawak* of the Greater Antilles, but there is no confirmation of reports that they had settled anywhere in that territory, except possibly in spots on the eastern end of Puerto Rico.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Very little work has been done on *Carib* archeology. Some writers, however, have assigned to the *Carib* all the archeological remains in the Lesser Antilles described above as *Arawak*. In view of the shortness of the time during which the *Carib* inhabited the Lesser Antilles, this is not likely. The only possibly authentic *Carib* site known to the writer is the place at Banana Bay on the small island of Balliceaux to which the English moved the *Black Carib* in 1797. Fewkes (1922, p. 89), who made a study of this site, has not described the material found.[1]

● [583] Additional *Carib* sites will undoubtedly be found in the future, but it should be difficult to identify them because of the fact that the *Carib* wives were often captive *Arawak* women, who probably made the pottery and other objects which survive in the sites according to their own customs. A study of the location of the historic *Carib* sites may perhaps help to overcome this difficulty.

HISTORY

175 Columbus first made contact with the *Carib* during his second voyage, in 1493, when he purposely sailed farther south in order to investigate these fierce savages of whom he had heard in Hispaniola. His first landing place was a small uninhabited island near Dominica; from there he went to Guadeloupe and discovered a *Carib* village. The men being absent on a raid, he was able to receive on board six captive *Arawak* women from

[1] Loven (1935, p. 545) believes that even this site is *Arawak*.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

to his wife. He would be expected to beat a lazy or unfaithful wife; though when he comes home helplessly drunk, the roles are sometimes reversed. He may also chastize or even expel from the household older children who repeatedly misbehave themselves. Up to the age of about five, children are treated with extreme indulgence interspersed with sporadic displays of affection, temper, or indifference; and rarely learn to control their bodily functions until three or four. Later training is almost solely confined to ridicule or chastisement; and Carib parents rarely if ever question their adolescent children, or seek to direct or control their doings. Observation, not interrogation, is the rule; and even in adults, silence is the only answer to an unwelcome question. A young girl found to be pregnant might receive a beating from her mother, especially should she not have revealed her lover's identity; but pre-marital sex experience is, on the whole, taken for granted by the present generation of Caribs. Adultery on the part of a husband is not uncommon, and is regarded with indulgence provided that the wife and children do not suffer neglect thereby. Adultery committed by the wife is rarer, and much more severely judged, though it is unlikely to lead to a permanent separation. The guilty wife may be beaten, and some sort of reparation demanded from her accomplice, who acquires a sort of right as the husband's combosse (see term 20), however, to future privileges. The above remarks apply to any socially recognized, fairly permanent unions, legal or otherwise. The recent suicide of a man who had discovered his (extra-legal) wife's infidelity is said by his friends to have been due to shame at the girl's refusal to return and submit to being beaten.

That wives might be acquired in different ways, we learn from all sources. A woman's daughters and her brothers' sons had a sort of prior claim on one another, and often were promised by their parents almost as soon as born. Such engagements were not enforced, however, if they later proved distasteful to the young couple concerned or to their parents. Secondly, men might take wives of their own choice (except among those they called mother, sister or daughter), provided that the girl and her parents consented. Thirdly, a noted chief or war-chief might have to take to wife a girl presented to him, for fear of offending her parents. Finally, girls captured in war or otherwise seduced or taken without their parents' consent were called by a distinctive term (19). The former were often brought home as presents for the old men. Although the status of this fourth class was apparently somewhat inferior to that of the other wives, that of their children in no way differed from the rest. Obviously, such unions were patrilocal. Du Tertre[3] and Breton both cite cases of unions

3 J.-B. Du Tertre, *Histoire général des Antilles* (Paris, 1667-1671).